S: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

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excitement would then ensue and stupendous efforts would be made to recover the cow, which rarely failed to be returned to the owner before nightfall in order to redeem the sacred stone.

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The Ja-Luo do not erect altars to the spirits of their ancestors like the Bantu Kavirondo, but for all that they believe in the influence of the spirits of the departed. If a man is stricken by illness, he will make a feast at the door of his hut, and he will take small pieces of meat and throw one to each of the four quarters of the compass; he will then fill his mouth with native beer and squirt a mouthful out on the ground in different directions and finally in a similar way toss out spoonfuls of odonee porridge in various directions as propitiatory offerings, at the same time imploring the spirits to take the food and not to worry him.

Charms.

B
787

Charms are legion among all the Kavirondo, and like other native races (and Europeans, too, for the matter of that), they make no attempt to explain why such and such a charm should produce a certain effect.

The Awa-Teuso tie a feather from a white chicken on the end of a stick as a charm to keep off hail; the sticks, which are about four feet long, are planted at intervals in the fields of beans and sem-sem; some seem to pin their faith to a wisp of grass which is tied to the stick and placed among the growing crops in the same way. This was only noticed among the Eastern Teuso people of the Kowori clan, but is probably wide spread.

B
[804]

The Tiriki people suspend a ball of clay by a string which is fastened to a stick, and plant one of these in a field of sweet potatoes or ground nuts to prevent thieving; the ball of clay has one of the yellow fruit of the common wild *Solanum* stuck into it.

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The use of this combination of the fruit of the Solanum and clay, as a charm for good, seems to be rather widespread, for at the close of the Nandi campaign of 1900 when the chiefs were making overtures for peace, they brought to the Government station a native stool on which was a conical mass of moist red clay which rather reminded one of a child's mud pie; this was studded all over with the yellow Solanum fruit, and was said to be great peace medicine.

B
751

In some parts of Bantu Kavirondo, an old earthenware cooking pot will often be seen fixed on the point of one of the native conical huts. This is a charm to prevent the children becoming cross eyed, for it is said children, when quite babies, are often stricken with a disease of the eyes which leaves a chronic squint; the charm does not render them immune to the disease, but averts the after effects; this belief occurs among many tribes in Eastern Africa, and the same charm is used.

B
824
778

Among charms we may perhaps mention that curious tree the *Blondia* or, as it is called in Kavirondo, the *Kerondo* tree (*Euphorbia tuberosa*) which is remarkable both for its brilliant red flowers, and from the fact that it loses its leaves and flowers at different seasons

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

753 755 775 The ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict grandchildren because their father has failed to fulfil the duties of a son to his father in his old age, either by direct unkindness or by neglect. The medicine-man will now order a shrine to be built by the grave of the grandparent concerned, and the sick person's father offers a goat or a sheep at the grave, pouring out the blood as an offering upon the ground, and then eating the meat on the spot with a few relatives. The medicine-man is afterwards able to treat the sick man with reasonable hope of restoring him to health, because the offended ghost has now been pacified and will allow the sick man to benefit by the treatment. Sometimes sickness is transferred to another person by rubbing herbs over the sick man and burying them in the road for some other person to walk over and thus contract the disease.

[769]

828 775 761 **Ghostly possession.** Fits are supposed to be the manifestation of ghostly possession. They can often be overcome by giving the person warm blood to drink drawn from the veins of an ox and by feeding the patient with a generous diet. During the time a fit lasts the man is held down, if he is violent, until the attack is over. Should a man fall into the fire during a fit, no help is rendered and he is allowed to burn to death, because it is said that the ghost has claimed him and would resent any interference and would affect the person who attempted to rescue the stricken man with a similar malady. A drum beaten near a person subject to fits is said to bring on an attack of the malady.

764 **Death and mourning.** When a person dies, his legs are bent up into a squatting posture, the right arm is raised under the head and the death-wail commences. The dead are not washed but merely have their ornaments stripped off; an ox or a cow is then killed and the body is wrapped in the skin and is stitched up tightly in it. The grave is dug in the house. When the body is laid in it, all the relatives stand round with their backs towards it and, at a given signal, they stoop down and with their hands scrape the earth into the grave without looking where it falls. After they have scraped in earth for some moments they walk out of the house, and the brother of

11:Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

with their buffalo-hide-shields and spears singing all the time. Meanwhile the heads of all the people of deceased's kraal except his wives are being shaven clean, whilst for this purpose they, in turn, are seated on a log of a thorn-tree, which is put across the main path leading to the village. 765 [302]

On the third day a billy-goat is killed and the meat is cooked and eaten by the women and girls of the kraal only, and an old woman gets the skin of the goat as a new skirt.

On the 4th day the relations go to the grave again and sweep it (*yueyo kit*) with a special kind of grass, putting some earth of the grave in an old basket. This is put in the middle of the path leading to the village, together with the log of wood (*orimbi*) which deceased used to rest his head on when sleeping. Nobody will afterwards touch these 2 articles; they are left there in the middle of the path. People will in future go past them, making a curve round them. — This explains why one very seldom finds a straight path leading to a kraal. — The hoe, which was used in digging the grave, is given to an old woman of an other part of the district, but the hoe handle is thrown away. Then all the relations living away from the kraal, and all the neighbours go home. [513]

When they have gone, the stick on top of the deceased hut, and those on the huts of all his women are broken by the grandchild of deceased or by some other small boy. This is a sign to anybody that the occupants of those huts are mourning.

After about two months the wives of deceased go to the village of their parents where they stay for two days, and a young bull is killed for them in honour of deceased. Before the wives have been home, they are not allowed to sleep anywhere but in the deceased husband's village, except under extraordinary circumstances, e.g. if a woman is not able to cross a river on the way home; in such cases she may sleep in another village, but only in the hut of an old woman. If she would break this rule, then the woman in whose hut she slept would not bring forth any children. [842]

Six months later beer is brewn for all the relations and neighbours, who come for the occasion. That day the grave is smeared with mud (*mwomo kit*) and the women get their heads shaven for the first time since the death of their husband. Now also all the wives of deceased are disposed of; they go to either the brothers or the cousins of their former husband. The time of mourning is finished and the sticks are replaced on top of the huts by the same boy who broke them off. That night however the women sleep on the bare ground. That day the women wear new white towels on their backs. These towels are made as usual from the twisted marrow of papyrus stalks or of sisal-fibre. For since the death of their husband they have left off their ordinary towel, which they replaced by a coarse one-strand one, made of the fibrous bark of the wild fig-tree. [291]

The new huts are built for the women, if their new husbands live in another village, and when these are ready their former huts are broken down. If their new husbands live in the same kraal they keep their own huts, except if deceased was buried inside his hut. In this case a new hut is built and the old one is allowed to collapse over the grave. If deceased was buried in a little hut built over grave, that hut is left till it tumbles down by itself. When later on somebody goes 768 769 753

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

sick in the village and he witchdoctor says that the sickness is due to neglect of deceased's grave, and that they have to sacrifice a goat or a bull to propitiate him, then they put some sticks round the grave again by way of a hut, in the doorway of which they roast a chicken, and some blood of the sacrifice is put in a potsherd and placed on the grave.

On the anniversary of the death or thereabouts beer is brewn again. First however deceased's son visits the witchdoctor, who tells him to sacrifice a special cock, e. g. a big black one, or one with an extra toe, or else with very short legs, ect. Until such a cock is found, as indicated by the witchdoctor, the beer will be of no use. Then the chicken is roasted and eaten, except for one leg which is put on the grave and covered with a basket. Now the *wimbi* for the beer is coarsely ground and put in pots for fermenting. After twelve days the fermented *wimbi* is roasted and the next morning dried. Unground *wimbi* is soaked in water, which is strained off again, and the grain remains for 3 days in covered pots in order to sprout, after which it is dried. When these ingredients are ready, then the next day another visit is paid to the witchdoctor, who again orders a special chicken to be sacrificed, this time e. g. a white one, which is killed and eaten in the morning. Now the wives and children of deceased only pick some seed-pods of a certain wild plant (*ochok*) which they string like beads on the stalk of creeping grass (*matlowe*). These strings they put round their necks, and also round the necks of the water-vessels with which they go to the well to fetch water for the further preparations of the beer. The water is put out in the sun, and when it has become lukewarm, it is poured on the fermented *wimbi* in big earthen pots. Next day the sprouted *wimbi* is ground and put in the beerpots too. The following morning early the relations put some of the beer, now ready, in a small vessel, which they put on the grave of deceased, with a reed in it, after which the people of the village take some of the beer and drink it. Presently they bring a cock which they suspend by its legs alive in the gateway of the kraal together with some secret medicine, and it remains hanging there till sunset. From 8 o'clock in the morning onwards all the relations, friends and neighbours come to partake of the beer, which is put in an enormous earthen pot (*ndere*) in an open space outside, each visitor bringing his own reed for sucking the beer. Nobody can enter the kraal that day except by the gateway where the chicken is hanging, all the other entrances being closed up. And the chicken is hung in such a way that anyone entering has to touch it. Suppose a person with an "evil eye" would enter for the purpose of bewitching somebody there, the medicine would start working on him, and he would leave the place with sore eyes, which would cause him much suffering. If this person, however, returns to the village, and owns up that he came there to bewitch somebody, he will be asked to spit on the ground, so that the person bewitched may not die, and doing so his eyes will heal again.

Beer is supplied to anybody entering the kraal for those days at a stretch. No food is cooked those days. If some food is brought from a neighbouring village they may take it but otherwise they live on beer only. All the children of round about, born about the time of persons death and called after him are carried by their mothers to this beer party. Each mother brings a cooked chicken and some

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Loo FL11

feed for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the ornaments are divided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home.

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it.

Every person, whether man, woman or child, is buried absolutely naked, and without any ornaments, even the little brass rings with a big blue bead each, which the old men wear all along the edge of both ears are taken out immediately after his death. To this rule there is one exception only. A jubilo, who is not an ordinary medicine-man, but one who has secret medicine, which he does not use for evil purposes except in warfare, is considered the greatest among men. For this reason he is specially honoured at his death. A big bull is killed and offered as a sacrifice, and the jubilo is buried in the fresh skin of the animal.

Burial of a Woman.

From the moment of a woman's death wailing goes on till next morning about 10 o'clock, when either her husband or her son dig the grave. All her ornaments are taken off, like at the occasion of a man's death.

Every woman is buried inside her own hut, because a woman is called the owner of the hut (*wanja*), hence at her death the hut has served its purpose.

When the grave is ready deceased's husband, assisted by two other people put her down in it, lying on her left side (seen on their right). Her children fill up the grave scraping the earth with hands and feet, they backs towards the corpse. The wailing goes on for another half hour whilst the crowds gather.

Then all the women and girls prepare themselves for a kind of war-dance to take place near the village. They take off their aprons which they throw on the roof deceased's hut. They smear themselves with mud, and dress themselves up in the war-dress of the men who came to the funeral (shields and spears left at home).

While the girls and women are dancing to the beating of drums, the men and boys squat down in the village and smoke hemp. After about an hour they come back from the dance, return their apparel to the men and go home. But the men remain till the afternoon, and those living near by call again at night for a chat.

After 3 days the women of the neighbourhood gather again in order to cook and eat the dried meat, fish and other food which the deceased left in the hut at her death. After the meal they go to sweep the grave (on the 3rd day, not the 4th as after the burial of a man) gathering some earth of it in an old basket, which is put on the path outside the kraal together with her mostly pillow (*ramba*). They also give away deceased's hut to an old woman, and throw away its handle.

On the same day the husband of deceased and one old woman go round to the huts of the near relations, sprinkling in each hut some medicine, throwing in each hut the seedball of an ishuginani, and gathering from its inhabitants a small

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1928)1928 FL11 Loo FL11

765 handful of kaffir-corn. This corn is used to make beer (see for the feast of shaving and smearing of the grave with mud, which takes place after 3 months (and 6, as in the case of husband's death). On that day also the parents of the deceased
587 woman bring another daughter, however small she may be at the time, which girl is to replace the deceased daughter, and will become the wife of the widower. They even may wait for a daughter still to be born, if deceased has no sister. But if the mother is old, and has no daughter to put in deceased's place, then the father may put a daughter by another wife in her place. This girl, though she may be a child as arms yet, is shown to the widower, who is not allowed to refuse her as his future wife, but has to wait till she is grown up. When the girl is about 10 years old a small, temporary hut is built for her, in which she sleeps with her future husband for one night. Then she returns home till she is marriageable, after a heavy iron ring has been put round her left ankle, which remains as a sign, that she has taken the place of a deceased sister.

The widower, however, is at liberty to marry another girl in the meantime, but the deceased wife's sister will later be considered as his first wife (*Ukuba nsalwang'*).

764 On the morning after the death of either husband or wife 2 bulls are killed. The first is sacrificed and eaten, there and then, by anybody coming for the funeral, the other one is simply killed for the relatives.

●119 When about 12 months have elapsed after the death of a woman, the same customs of distributing the ornaments of deceased, and the brewing of beer for all the relations and neighbours are observed, as take place on the anniversary of the death of a married man.

Burial of a Child.

765 Small children, whether boys or girls are bewailed by the women only. The reason for this is that the people have a superstition which says that if a father bewails his child his wives will not bring forth any more.

Grown up boys and girls are bewailed by the men also, but only for a short time and not by big crowds. The mother may bewail her child for a period of about 2 months every morning for a short time. She sits down beside the grave, where
[270] she lights a little fire to protect herself against the cold. She wailing is interrupted now and again for the purpose of smoking a pipe.

765 After the child's death the mother may not get her head shaven until after
834 her next menstruation. Only after this her husband is allowed to sleep in her hut and observe the conjugal rights. Until he has done this the husband is not allowed to observe those rights with any of his other wives. If he would break this rule he would make the mother of the dead child barren for the rest of her life.

764 Adult boys are buried on the left hand side of the hut a few yards away, smaller boys on the same side but under the roof outside, girls in the same way, but on the right hand side.

For adult children, whether boys or girls, the usual dancing, etc. take place, the same as for married people.

If a girl dies for whom the dowry has been fully paid, but for some reason

1[The third day after burial. – Analyst]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Loo FL11

422 less an titular owners of the whole land. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest 582 son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the next must wait till there is no further chance of her having 585 any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister 428 and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson 587 who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

422 All herded together

428 Head of homestead (titular owner of all)

583 a. Cattle of the elder
Entire property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Families ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the cattle and bull values by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

a. Cattle owned property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called out that received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of cattle and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.

Milk from these used by the wives.

Cattle of the wives' houses
Share in milked, used in quarters, one among one wives.

b. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any number inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under c and a.

Homestead head has over all dominion in the original division of ancestral cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category c to help employ to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of the other wives.

592 Domination to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and 613 wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and 539 preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segments, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

781 Ancestor worship is falling into disrepute among the Luo of today. All those who 778 go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young, 782 while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer 795 command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the [795] huts and around wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

19: Southall E-9 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Loo FL11

diagram, p. 17). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the ritual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elders of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *ourwa, lang' owere achiew*—'our father, call your father and me'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on involving the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the favour of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being jeered at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child cries excessively the diviner (*ajuoga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of descent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the necessary reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

Two special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all three terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot, gweng', kitombo*, and *siyanda*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *siyanda* of class B segments only, and *kitombo* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when considered in relation to the structural position of the speakers, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

Dhoot (pl. *dhoot*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages already referred to as class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the population figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, land, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,* responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

* By settlement I mean simply a defined area of territory, containing the dwellings and all the land necessary of a specified social group. The Luo have no villages in the sense of recognized aggregations of dwellings larger than those of the family.

[text continues on p. 27]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

may be of Bantu origin. The facility with which the Luo incorporate linguistic borrowings even in the case of fundamental concepts (e.g. *Nyasaye*, God, *sasa*, enemies, &c.) is in marked contrast to the persistence with which they have retained the other elements of their culture and imposed them on the non-Luo groups assimilated by them. The Luo sum up in the term *ikwedo* all those forces of friction and competition which weaken the solidarity of a lineage segment and lead to its further subdivision. The quarrels of uterine brothers and the jealousies of co-wives are regarded as typical of these. A *ikwedo* is, then, a rival lineage segment co-ordinate to one's own. When a man speaks of his *ikwedo* he always means a segment other than his own, but included in the same superordinate segment as is the one he has in mind as claiming his loyalty at that particular moment. It is those groups of *dhoot* which stand in the *ikwedo* relationship to one another which play together as *adhola*, wrestle together, and fight together with clubs.[1]

The lineages of class B remain passive except when called into action in connexion with certain ritual situations, and the chance of this occurring depends mainly on their genealogical position. Those which are below the level of the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'*, down to and including the members of compound and elementary families, are consistently being involved as groups in the many rituals which accompany marriages and funerals, the founding of new homesteads, the starting of cultivation, sowing and reaping, and the organization of other periodic affairs within the minimal *gweng'*. The class B segments above this level only come into active employment according to the incidence of ancestral sacrifices. When any social group is faced with a misfortune for which no specific remedy is recognized, a diviner (*ramoji*) is consulted, and sacrifice made to the patrilineal ancestor indicated as responsible for the trouble. Which one is selected depends on the gravity of the misfortune and the level of lineage grouping affected by it. The diviner is more likely to indicate one of the eponymous ancestors of *dhoot* as they are more prominent in the minds of all. If, however, the eponymous ancestor of any other segment is indicated, it would emerge from its passivity into action. Even when it is the eponymous ancestor of a *dhoot* who receives sacrifice, some or all of its genealogical co-ordinates and subordinates may only be class B segments, and these would be called into action on such occasions since the sacrificing segment usually calls its co-ordinates to participate and is itself represented by its major segments.[2] All class B segments acting in this way, whether below or above the level of the minimal *dhoot*, are called *asumbi*. Even a segment which is itself a *dhoot* and *gweng'* may be called *asumbi* in this context. The etymology of this word[3] might well suggest a unitive principle of grouping. However, as with *dhoot*, every *asumbi* is a patrilineal descent group, and whether it takes its name from a man or a woman depends on the genealogical incidence of co-wives and uterine brothers and the circumstances which call into action the agnatic groups

[1] Cf. the Talensi concept of *nanoo* (Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 21, 22, 201). Here, too, there is the idea of a reciprocal relationship between co-ordinates, but in the Talensi the chief emphasis is on the level of unity resulting from common bereavement, whereas for the Luo it is on competitive subordination within a common superordinate. Co-ordinate segments are equally *ikwedo* to one another whether their ancestors were co-wives or uterine brothers.

[2] See below, p. 62. Cf. Fortes's analysis of the same principle among the Talensi (*The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, p. 211).

[3] *asum'* n., limit; *asumb* v., to give limit. But it is possible to apply this root to procreation by men.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Lee FL11

6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead. 613
7. Kidneys: for the woman's unborn still in their mother's house and their friends. 583
8. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother. 606
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by Bale, by all the elders assembled for the distribution.

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Lee youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the man who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps. [367]

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor ini- 613 792
tiated by the diviners as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage 769
whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom concerning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of rite.

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceed- 613
ingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, 574
when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time five weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the 273
vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial purpose. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are among our own a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the celebration of the periodic and seasonal offices of a class A lineage. [571]

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage seg- 613
ments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the 574
order of drinking is entirely determined by lineage seniority, starting with the repre- 576
sentatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *pere bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into the village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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Homicide and Suicide among the Jalue of Kenya

Finally, in desperation, his sons and a group of his *pakakuoro* 151
consulted the local diviner, *pakilo*, to choose an auspicious day 679
for the killing of the ex-chief and to collect the animals and 638
materials necessary for cleansing after the deed had been accomplished.

The ex-chief was found and stabbed to death at the place named by the *pakilo* and his body was hidden in a nearby river. It was found several days later, and a witness was found who alleged that he came upon the group on the day of the murder in the act of disposing of the body.

Those who had had actual physical contact with the blood 157
of the murdered man were cleansed as soon as they arrived 783
home by the leading *pakilo* of the clan. He used a grey ash 809
from burning the sacred *buombwir* vine. The minimal lineage, *pakakuoro*, assembled at the village of the senior son, who was the head of the lineage segment, and who had struck the fatal blow. There the following cleansing ritual was performed: at about two o'clock the following afternoon, a black sheep and red chicken were slaughtered by the head of the lineage. The sheep and chicken were first prepared by the *pakilo*, who placed his medicines in the mouth of the sheep and of the chicken before the sacrifice. The *pakilo* cut strips of skin from the animal and wrapped them around the spear and knives used in the murder. The spear had to be destroyed at sundown because the victim was related to the spear clan of the tribe. The meat was divided on the lineage principle and consumed communally. The meat of the chicken was eaten only by those who actually struck blows.

The purpose of these sacrifices was stated by the *pakilo* to "keep the spirit of the murdered man from doing evil to the clan." It also cleansed the bodies of those who drew blood so that they could now eat with their families and once more participate in the activities of the village and clan.

After the meat was eaten, those present held a meeting to 151
decide which old women should act as a wife to the ghost of 764
761

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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159 the murdered man, to secure his death, to placate his spirit,
713 and to retain the grey ash medicine left over from the first
• 714 cleansing to be used when necessary to remove the danger of his ghost returning to harm members of the clan. An old woman past child bearing, *pire*, was selected and agreed to perform these functions. She was given animals for this service and a hut was built for her outside the village, where she placated the spirit of the dead man.

159 Most Jokos will agree that when a witch is killed, the dead
682 man's relatives do not take legal action but try to cover up the
759 incident. This is not difficult in Luo society. One case did, however, occur during the period of this study which could not be hidden from the authorities.

Case No. 2.

A youth of seventeen was escorting his sister from a marriage ceremony back to their village some miles away. It was late at night or early in the morning, time could not accurately be assessed, when suddenly an apparition appeared in the path of the couple. It was a naked man—swerving, jumping, screaming, and brandishing fire which glowed red as he waved his arms. The night was very dark and to the young couple the apparition appeared as a ghost. The woman fled the way she had come but the youth in his frantic effort to escape stumbled and fell. The "ghost" was on top of him instantly, clawing at his face and throat. The youth had a sheath knife in his belt and frantically struck out blindly several times as he managed to struggle free. He fled back to the village from which he came. A party of youths and men armed themselves and set out to search for and kill the witch but were unable to find the exact spot in the darkness.

157 Next morning a body was found, naked, and with several
682 stab wounds on it. The man was identified, and the finder,

21:Huxley Q,T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

Behind and beyond are old beliefs that are still alive. A man can lay upon a piece of land, when he is dying, an oath that binds his heirs to hold on to it for ever, and will destroy anyone who sells it out of the family—an entail with the sanction of magic. And there old homesteads on the Kano plains sheltering behind euphorbia hedges contain the bones of the deceased owner, who is buried under the floor of his hut. So consolidation may ask the son to exchange not merely a field of maize, but the bones of his father, the terrestrial anchor of his father's spirit. No wonder it is often too much to ask, and that politicians find these deep fires easy to fan.

To reach Nyabondo we climbed a small escarpment, the beginning of the Kipsigis hills, left the car beside a track and walked to the farm of a young, pleasant-mannered school supervisor called James Onyango, one of the leaders of the enclosure movement. We sat under a tree near his new tin-roofed modern bungalow, above a shallow valley with a stream. The country here is gently rolling and thickly dotted with roofs of homesteads. Many people had gathered in a circle; the women sat together in bright cottons and gay head-scarves, plump and glossy, most of them with grave-faced, round-eyed babies sleeping in their arms or crawling about the grass beside them. This question of land touches the women at the core. James Onyango told his story in English.

"The idea of exchanging gardens came to us two years ago; we had heard of it in other places; most of us were interested, and asked the Government to advise. We held a meeting and agreed unanimously to consolidate, all of us within the Kadianga clan, *fifty-nine* families. In our clan are three sub-clans; each appointed three men to form a committee. Each of these three was a *n'gwe*—an elder whose task is to look after the land, and one of these was made the president.

"We started to exchange our gardens, and at first everything was fair. Then came elections for the Legislative Council and the District Council. The candidates thought they would gain popularity by speaking against the land schemes. They campaigned among the people, and some listened. They had clever ways. In each sub-location they had an agent who